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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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SECRET

Executive Registry
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MAY 15 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Communist Infiltration of RFE

REFERENCE: Confidential Memorandum dated 24 October from
Al Freeman to Roy Kohler

1. On 2 November 1951 you told us of certain charges you had heard that RFE was being infiltrated.

2. Similar charges have been made by others. We therefore asked NCPE to investigate these charges and we also turned them over to our own Security Officers. I am attaching for your information a letter which contains the results of the investigation made by NCPE. You will observe that the specific charges made against Ingenieur Halik and Kristina Kamlerova are not answered but we believe the enclosed constitutes an answer to the general charge of infiltration of the Czechoslovakian desk, as the major figures involved are dealt with fully.

3. If, subsequently, our own investigation in which Halik and Kamlerova will be dealt with brings to light any new facts or fails to corroborate any of the facts stated in the enclosure, we will take action immediately and will also keep you informed.

054 - RFE
RIPKA
ZENKL
PEROUTKA
DURCHICK
STUKANSKY
Enclosure
Ltr 25 Apr with
Exhibits from NCPE
CLO:TWB/eh
(8 May 1952)

Glenn FRANK S. WISNER

FRANK O. WISNER

6 copies

MAY 19 1952

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Orig & 1 - Adm
1 cc - IO
2 cc - E.A. (for DE/P)
1 cc - EE
1 cc - I&S
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RT

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

FOR COORDINATION WITH

Declassified and Approved for Release
by the Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2003

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April 25, 1952

Dear _____:

As you know _____ has gone abroad. Before leaving he gave me your letter of April 11 asking me to answer it so that you would have material necessary for your reply to our friends across the street.

The subject matter of your letter is, as you suggested, collateral to previous charges in a paper forwarded under date of 27 November 1951. _____ who sent that letter to our Bob, mentioned this matter to me in December as you stated. Since that time, those best qualified here have been working on an over-all rebuttal designed to form a base for handling these repetitive charges which come to our attention. This has taken the form of the materials which I am enclosing and my own explanatory comments herein. Since you suggested that both the original and the latest matters dealing with Peroutka, Ripka, and Zenkl be handled at the same time, I shall summarize the facts for you as follows:

Dr. Hubert Ripka

With respect to the statement attributed to Dr. Hubert Ripka dated December 18, 1943: Dr. Ripka at that time was Minister of State in the Czech Government in Exile then resident in London. Shortly before Dr. Ripka made his statement, the British Government had signed and announced a 25-year treaty of alliance and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. Obviously, since the Czechoslovak Government in Exile in London existed with the active support and patronage of the British and United States Governments, allied at that time with the Soviet Union, it was quite appropriate for Dr. Ripka in his statement to indicate satisfaction with the treaty. A realistic analysis of what he said indicates no more ideological insecurity than is reflected in statements of many prominent Americans during the temporary war-time alliance.

With respect to the quotation from the New York Herald Tribune, October, 1947, we submit that it was perfectly natural for Dr. Ripka in his position as Minister of Foreign Trade to make such a statement in the light of Czechoslovak politics of the period. It must be remembered that in 1947 the members of the Czech Government felt themselves deserted by the West and slowly encircled by Soviet Russia. It will be recalled that at the first Marshall Plan conference a representative of Dr. Ripka's department appeared and indicated Czechoslovak willingness to participate in the plan. Upon the personal demand of Molotov, this representative was summarily recalled before negotiations got under way. Dr. Ripka was personally summoned to Moscow to explain why the Czech delegate had been sent to the Marshall Plan conference. He had no recourse but to comply with this demand in precisely the same manner that Czech officials in 1938 had no recourse against Hitler after the Munich conference.

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In view of the withdrawal of American troops and the fact that Russian troops were poised at the border, the statement reflects the growing impotence of the Czech Government in the face of mounting Russian pressure. The statement should be considered in the light of the times. When it was made, democratic government had collapsed in Hungary, the Western Powers were unable to enforce free elections in Poland, and responsible Czech officials therefore naturally felt themselves abandoned by the West, threatened from the East, and in growing danger from internal Communist pressures. It is to be noted that four months after Dr. Ripka's statement the Communists in Czechoslovakia seized the government and immediately forced both Dr. Ripka and Dr. Zenkl to flee the country in imminent danger of their lives. 4

Dr. Peter Zenkl

The statement attributed to Dr. Peter Zenkl is probably true. Dr. Zenkl, on November 14, 1945, the date of the statement, was Vice-Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic and Lord Mayor of the city of Prague. It will be recalled that Prague, at the request of SHAEF, was liberated by the Red Army rather than by American forces which were halted by direction of SHAEF at the outskirts of the city. It is obvious that a statement of this character was quite appropriate under the existing circumstances as the Lord Mayor of the city quite naturally should appear enthusiastic over the "liberation" by either element of the still-allied forces.

Summary

For your collateral information, both Dr. Hubert Ripka and Dr. Peter Zenkl are associated with and supported by the Fund as leading personages in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. This association has the enthusiastic concurrence of your friends across the street. It is correct to state that their participation in the activities of the Fund with respect to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia is due to their original positions as Directors of the Council which the Fund inherited when it started business.

Your attention is invited further to the established fact that the newspaper "Rozpravy", which you cited, is a partisan newspaper of the Czechoslovak Christian Democratic Party. Both Dr. Zenkl and Dr. Ripka are members of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. It is therefore appropriate to comment that the attention given to the statements by Rozpravy is a reflection of perfectly understandable and normal political cross currents within the Czechoslovak emigration. This is a situation with which the Fund is especially familiar and which has been frequently the subject of discussions between our representatives and our mutual friends. You are likewise well aware of and able to evaluate these nuances of exile political behavior.

Ferdinand Peroutka

Ferdinand Peroutka is considered by all qualified and objective officers of the Fund to be the most outstanding and influential journalist and public figure in the Czechoslovak emigration. He has had the endorsement of your close associates who work for the Colonel and with whom I deal directly. 6
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Prior to his designation as chief of the Czechoslovak radio programs of the Fund, those associates furnished us with a photostatic copy of material from their files reflecting their information concerning him. The material was dated 17 February 1950. Among other things it states that Peroutka was elected President of the Czech Resistance Movement at a meeting held in Paris in January, 1949. At this meeting plans were made for a central organization of Czechs and Slovaks in exile to foster resistance to the Communist Czech regime, and Peroutka, as President of the organization, was given covert assistance in proceeding to the United States to confer with authorities in your city during February, 1949. Peroutka aided in the development of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and collaterally, since April 30, 1950, he has been associated with us in carrying forward the purposes for which the Fund's radio operation was conceived.

Because of the prominence of Peroutka and the following which he has in Czechoslovakia, he has been, with other prominent exiles including Dr. Ripka and Dr. Zenkl, a repetitive target for denunciations and attacks from political dissidents in the Czech emigration as well as Communist elements in Czechoslovakia. He is regularly denounced and attacked by Radio Prague. The attacks are so well known to us that we have become quite used to them. They frequently take the form of incorrectly translated quotations taken out of context from his well-known book "So and So" (Tak nebo Tak), such as those my former firm cited to you. Likewise, quotations from the newspaper "Dnesek" which Peroutka edited in Prague are also used to smear him. We are familiar with the quotations cited to us in your letter and have seen them many times emanating from various sources. These sources invariably consist of three types:

- 1) Slovak Separatists (see enclosures).
- 2) Czech and Slovak political opponents.
- 3) Disappointed job seekers.

With respect to the quotations cited in your letter, we submit that they cannot be attributed to ideological affiliation or sympathy with Soviet Communism but rather that, when considered in the light of the times and circumstances, they are the day-to-day commentaries of a free journalistic mind. The quotations from Peroutka's book similarly reflect intellectual conclusions of a liberal author and not, as alleged, an ideological endorsement of Communism. In making this statement, I call to your attention again that these excerpts from his writings have been lifted out of context and used for a slanted denunciatory purpose. Such use is a first-class example of the well-known Communist technique of "polarization".

It is pertinent to point out that, if these quotations indicated Communist tendencies or sympathies of Peroutka, he should have been a welcome addition to the Communist group which engineered the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia. These writings of his were well known in Czechoslovakia and widely disseminated in 1947. Yet, on the very day the Communists took power in February, 1948, Peroutka was:

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- 1) Immediately dismissed as editor of the liberal newspaper "Svobodné Novy", which was taken over by the Communists;
- 2) His play "Clouds" then running in the National Theater was immediately forbidden;
- 3) He was deprived of his right of pension and expelled from the Union of Czech Journalists;
- 4) He was excluded from membership in the Organization of Victims of the Nazis;
- 5) He was excluded from all clubs to which he belonged;
- 6) All funds of his publishing house in Prague were confiscated; and,
- 7) He was forced to flee the country in order to escape arrest and imprisonment at the hands of the Communist Ministry of the Interior. He arrived in the U.S. Zone of Germany 7 May 1948.

Our continuing study of the various attacks on Peroutka indicates that they are inspired by agents of two political adventurers and agitators, namely General Prchala and Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky. From time to time, these denunciatory attacks have been printed in various publications and have been picked up by the Intelligence Digest which, as you know, is a source upon which our mutual friends and my former firm frequently rely. The quotations in your letter referring not only to Peroutka but also to other Czech individuals associated with the Fund have appeared in the Intelligence Digest from whence no doubt they have been picked up not only by our friends but also by my former firm as shown by their letter to your friend Frank, which you showed me. Specifically, the cited material in similar form appears in the October 1951 issue of the Intelligence Digest. It will be noted that my former employers themselves attributed these quotations to "a confidential source of unknown reliability". This is certainly a good phrase to describe denunciatory information emanating from Prchala or Durcansky.

As is made abundantly clear in the attachments, Durcansky is not only unreliable but he is on the Allied list of war criminals. He was Foreign Minister under the Nazi puppet government of Monsignor Tiso who was later hanged. Durcansky escaped to Argentina which was the only country that would accept him for asylum. His fulminations and vilifications of many prominent Czechs regularly appear in obscure newspapers published in the Czech or Slovak languages in various centers of Czech emigration, e.g., London, Paris, and New York. Durcansky is the chief protagonist of a so-called Slovak Separatist Movement which operates under the title of "Slovak Liberation Committee". The front man for the outfit is a Daniel Skoda who is totally unknown to all of our prominent Czech associates.

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General Prchala is the spearhead of the remnants of the Sudeten German element in Czech affairs. He is known as an adventurer who was never a factor in the political life of Czechoslovakia and is now thoroughly discredited among the democratic elements of that country. It is known that he agitates for personal profit and aggrandizement in keeping alive the so-called Sudeten question.

Our exile personnel of all nationalities have been frequently attacked at the instigation of individuals like Prchala, Durnanský, and other self-appointed opportunists operating splinter political parties and groups. Likewise such attacks have undoubtedly been appropriately planted by the Czech and other Communist regimes against whom the Fund's radio has become so effective. We keep abreast of these charges and evaluate them for what they are worth. Our files are replete with major and minor instances of criticism from sources of the types above cited. On the basis of our evaluation of such repetitive criticisms and our operational association with the individuals attacked, I want to make the following categorical statement: Including myself in terms of my special security responsibilities, the officials of the Fund have day-to-day personal contact with and operational control of the useful elements in the Czech and other emigration. I specifically refer to Peroutka, Štěpánek, and Uhlíř among the Czechs. They have been with us now for many months. We have come to know them. We have come to believe in them. We control them through the Fund's Policy Guidance Handbook with which you and your friends are familiar and which provides them with a framework for all their broadcasts. We have based our philosophy of approach to our broadcasting and other missions on their ideological security and their technical utility. They are getting the job done. The violence and frequency of the attacks on them is proof of their value. When Prague gets hurt by the Fund's radio—as it does daily—it denounces Peroutka and his associates. When it denounces them as it does daily we congratulate Peroutka. In this frame of reference your attention is invited to "Peroutka's Sunday Talk" of March 16th and to a translation of "Rude Pravo" (Prague) article of April 7th denouncing that broadcast (see Exhibits 3 and 3-A enclosed). These two examples alone demonstrate the high caliber, the lucidity of presentation, and the fidelity to the Fund's broadcasting policy and mission on Peroutka's part as contrasted with the empty wordiness, the muddiness of investigative, and adherence to Communist ideology in the rejoinder of Rude Pravo.

We believe that the best answers that can be given to our friends across the street is to present them with the above statements together with the enclosed documents. Upon objective examination, these materials will fully refute the innuendoes of these out-of-context quotations and irresponsible allegations of infiltration. We further believe that this is not a matter of responding point by point to recurrent appearances of denunciatory statements such as those you cited; but rather that once and for all the situation should be so presented to our friends that the ideological security and personal reliability of our agents for Fund purposes finally will be appreciated and understood. It is obvious that these accusations, allegations, and innuendoes should have regard to their sources. They can be evaluated properly only by careful study and understanding of the motives of such sources. Therefore, for a complete understanding of the situation, I am enclosing for your use in presenting this matter the following exhibits:

- nb → 1) Memorandum of Slovak Liberation Committee entitled "Documents Giving True Backgrounds" etc.

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- 2) Reply to the Memorandum of the Slovak Liberation Committee - Part I (by Ferdinand Peroutka).
- 2-A) Reply to the Memorandum of the Slovak Liberation Committee - Part II (by Ferdinand Peroutka).
- 3) Six scripts entitled "Sunday Talks by Ferdinand Peroutka."
- 3-A) Translation of article in "Rude Pravo" (Prague), April 7, 1952.

I have already mentioned Peroutka's "Sunday Talk" of March 16 specially above. The other sample talks in Exhibit 3 are forwarded for additional evaluation by you and our friends. I hope that all of these materials and my comments herein will be of use to you in preparing the answers that you must make to our mutual friends. It is my hope that you will perhaps find this information to be in immediately transferable form, and should you decide to submit your rejoinder in this form, I will be happy to provide you with additional copies of all of the exhibits for your files.

In addition to the foregoing, I want to acknowledge receipt of your written request for information to answer similar charges against our Hungarians. Documentation and rejoinder of these charges is in preparation, and we are making every effort to provide you with the necessary information as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

100-134-17